1: Karsten--212-213 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 783 (1928-29)

"If a woman becomes a widow she cannot marry again at will but is bound by certain restrictions. First and foremost, owing to the close relationship assumed between brothers, she is believed naturally to belong to the eldest brother of her deceased husband, who is bound to marry her. If he had no brothers she may marry another man, generally in some way related to her former husband, but not at once. The prohibition of her remarriage when or with whom she likes is due to the superstitious ideas mentioned in the last chapter. Generally the widow has to wait for one year before she can marry again, or until the hair of her head which at the death of her husband was cut short, has again grown long. Besides this, she has to pass through a certain purificatory ceremony with fire. The widow has to sit down on a seat, her head is covered with a cloth, and a termite nest is set on fire, the smoke of which she has to receive in her face until she is nearly suffocated. This smoking ceremony is believed to purify her from the taboo attaching to her after the death of her husband and she can now remarry. If the woman marries before the year has elapsed, or does not pass through the purification ceremony just mentioned, the consequence may be that the new [213] husband will soon die and that the child she gives birth to will be a monster. The demon operating in this case is again the spirit or soul of the dead husband, who jealously watches his former wife. Among the Jibaros therefore untimely marriages of widows are as strictly prohibited as marriages between near relatives."

1: Karsten--301-302 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"Immediately after their return the victor or victors have to pass through the purification procedure, connected with a small feast, which the Jibaros call Numbuimártinyu (from númba, blood, and mártinyu, to paint, to coat), the principal ceremony of which consists in their legs being coated with hen's blood. If the victors are many, this ceremony is first performed with the one who cut off the head of the enemy, and thereafter in turns with each of those who took part in the killing. Before the victors, who travel slowly and stop at various houses on the way, arrive home, a message has been sent that the warriors are coming, that a head has been captured, and that preparations for the feast Numbuimártinyu shall begin at once. This feast therefore always has a more or less improvised character.

The first slayer stops in the house of some relations in the neighbourhood of his home until the trophy is definitely prepared. It is not until then that his solemn entrance into his own house can take place. He is in the dress of a penitent, has his hair untied, and wears no body-painting or other ornaments. At his side stands the chief or some other old warrior, who will lead the ceremonies at the following feasts and in this capacity is called whuéa. Behind these two men the rest of the warriors arrange themselves in a row. The whuéa first gives the slayer juice of tobacco through the nose. Thereafter the latter disengages the trophy from the cloth in which it has been wrapped up and with the aid of the old man hangs it round his neck, over the breast. Followed

by the rest of the men, he now slowly and ceremoniously, and continually smoothing the hair of the trophy with the hand, proceeds toward the house, stopping outside the door. From within all the women come to meet him, arranged in a row and holding each other by the hands, all in festive dresses and with rattles of snail's shells round the cinctures. On each side of the women the men arrange themselves in two rows [302]inside the house. The introductory dance with the trophy which is called Ihiámbrama, and which is performed by the victor together with the women, now takes place. From among the women two step forth who have been standing at the head of the rest. Those are the wife and daughter of the victor. For the following dance the daughter grasps him from behind at the cincture with both hands; the wife gives him her hand, standing at the head of the other women. The slayer again seizes the tsantsa with the right hand, holding it up with the arm stretched out; with the left he grasps the hand of his wife. All now pass, dancing or hopping sideways, into the interior of the house, to the accompaniment of drums and the rattles of the women, and immediately return to the entrance. The same manoeuvre is repeated twice. Each time the slayer, led by the women, returns to the entrance of the house. The aim of this dance is to paralyze the danger threatening the victor from the spirit of the murdered enemy at the first entrance into the house, which is regarded as particularly critical (Pl. XXVIII)."

1: Karsten--302-307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"The slayer now takes off the tsantsa and the latter is tied to a chonta lance which is fixed in the ground close to the door on the inner side. The lance must be made of the hard wood of the chonta palm, to which the Indians ascribe a supernatural power. Another kind of lance, for instance one having an iron point, would not do. In this way the tsantsa is kept at the following feasts also during the time it is not needed for the ceremonies. The trophy being tied to the chonta lance, the spirit of the enemy attached to it is brought into subjection and kept at bay.

The whuéa lays his hand upon the shoulder of the slayer and takes him round in the house, as if to manifest that he can now move about there without danger.

Meanwhile, close to the lance with the tsantsa tied to it, two small vessels have been placed. One is a piece of an old broken clay pot (hakáchi) containing a little hen's blood, the other an ordinary small pot with a solution of genipa (sua). These three objects, the lance with the trophy tied to it, the piece of the clay pot containing hen's blood, and the small pot with genipa, seem to be sacred; no unauthorized person may touch them or even come near them.

If among the warriors who took part in the killing of the enemy two or more are from the same house, being for instance two brothers or a father with his sons, a special broken clay vessel with hen's blood and a special small pot with genipa must be placed at the lance for each of them. [303] The ceremony Numbuimártinyu must thus be performed

separately with each slayer from the same house.

The 'washing of the blood' now takes place. The slayer takes his seat upon a small round bench close to the vessel with the hen's blood and the whuéa places himself at his side. Around them the women form a semicircle, having their rattles round the cincture as before. They are led by an old woman, called oháha, who at the feasts directs all those ceremonies at which the women play the main part. The whuéa first gives the slayer tobacco juice through the nose. Then he grasps him by the hand, brings it down to the vessel containing the hen's blood, lets him dip the index finger into it, and subsequently with the blood draw a broad line 2 or 3 inches in length along the front of one of his legs, from below upward. Thereafter the slayer, with the aid of the whuéa, applies a similar stroke with the blood to his other leg. While this is being done the women, led by the oháha, dance in a ring around them, singing a sort of conjuration, which mainly consists of the following phrase:

Whuéa heingi ikaski numbimarmai ihámbratinyu; that is, 'The whuéa, together with the oháha (ikaski), paint you with blood to start the fasting.'

As we shall see, the ceremony Numbuimártinyu introduces a time of very strict fasting for the slayer.

The slayer now in his turn does the whuéa the same service, drawing with his index finger two streaks with the hen's blood upon both his legs.

The blood-painting ceremony having been finished, the piece of broken clay vessel, together with the blood left in it, is immediately thrown away into the forest. It is an impure and harmful substance which need no longer be kept.

The whuéa asks the wife of the slayer for water, and she brings it in a clay dish (pininga). The old man takes a little water from the dish with his hand and puts it upon the head of the slayer. Thereupon he does the same with the wife and daughter of the slayer, putting with his hand a little water upon their heads. All three are subsequently sent down to the river to bathe.

That even the wife and the daughter of the slayer have to pass through this purification procedure and afterwards also have to take part in various other ceremonies, is partly due to the close relationship existing between them and the slayer, but especially to the role they have played at the dance Ihiámbrama. By touching the still blood-stained hands and clothes of the slayer they have likewise been polluted by the blood of the murdered enemy, are consequently exposed to danger from the [304] revengeful spirit, and have to be purified from the blood and observe other rules of precaution. From this moment up to the time for the celebration of the final great victory feast they have thus to fast in the same way as the slayer himself, assisting at the said feast

again at the dance Ihiámbrama, which then will be repeated.

If the slayer has two wives they generally assist at the dance mentioned. If he is quite a young man, who has not yet married, it is considered obligatory that he should look for a bride for the feast. The part of the other woman in this case is played by some near female relative of his.

In the river the slayer carefully washes his whole body, as well as his clothing, soiled with blood in the battle, and lastly his weapons, the still bloody lance and knife. Together with his wife and daughter, who have also washed themselves, he then returns to the house.

On the way they break off some twigs of guayusa (Ilex sp.), called weisa by the Jibaros, a tree the leaves of which are used for the preparation of an aromatic and tonic drink, with which the Jibaros wash their mouths every morning. This drink has now to be prepared. The slayer as well as his wife and daughter together grasp a small clay pot, called yukúnda, pour water into it from a larger vessel, and together place it on the fire. As soon as the drink has boiled the whuéa takes a little of it in a small gourd, mutters an incantation over it, and passes it to the slayer who washes his mouth with it without swallowing much of it. Thereafter the whuéa in the same way gives of the drink to the wife and the daughter of the slayer, who likewise wash their mouths with it. The small clay pot is then taken off the fire and laid aside. The three persons are

now properly purified for breaking the fast.

The wife of the slayer goes to fetch the edible top of a small palm which the Jibaros call tingimi, which is put on the fire to be roasted, exactly on the same place where the guayusa pot lay. At another fire in the house beans have before been cooked, and at a third manioc, afterwards mashed, a dish called nauma. As soon as the palm top is sufficiently roasted the women move over to this fire, take a dish with beans, and another dish with boiled manioc (nauma). The three principal persons, the slayer himself and his wife and daughter, now have to break the fast after the 'washing of the blood.' The whuéa at first gives tobacco juice to the slayer through the nose. Then with two fingers he takes a little of the palm top (tingimi), spits on the ground, mutters an incantation over it and puts it directly into the mouth of the slayer, who [305] swallows it. Then with two fingers he takes a few beans, and lastly also a small piece of boiled manioc together with a little salt and a little pimiento or Indian pepper, and gives them to the slayer with the same ceremony. Exactly the same action is repeated with his wife and his daughter, each of whom likewise receives a little of the dishes mentioned. The vessels with the food are subsequently carried away by the other women.

Meanwhile food has also been cooked for the guests in the women's department of the house. This food consists essentially of boiled chicken. If there are swine in the house, one is also slaughtered and prepared, but according to old tradition boiled chicken is

the main dish at the feast Numbuimártinyu.

A general banquet now commences, at which the guests eat chicken and manioc, whereas the slayer, his wife, and daughter eat the palm top tingimi, beans, and manioc.

After the banquet the last ceremony takes place, which consists in the slayer being painted with genipa (sua). The slayer seats himself on a bench in front of the pot containing the black dye, and the whuéa places himself at his side, grasps his hand, makes him dip his index finger in the solution and apply a broad stroke with it over the mouth so that both lips are painted black. Thereafter the old man draws a similar black stroke over his own mouth. The women simultaneously dance around the two men, singing an incantation. The pot containing the genipa is now carried away and kept.

The whuéa finally addresses the slayer in a sort of speech wherein he points out that he himself has now fulfilled his mission to wash off the blood from the slayer, but that the latter has now to prepare himself for the celebration of the final great victory feast. He has to breed swine and fowls to be slaughtered at the feast; he must plant fields of manioc and plantain; he must in his life carefully observe certain rules of abstinence from eating certain kinds of food, etc.

When darkness sets in, or about 6 o'clock in the evening, a general dance commences, which is characteristic of this feast and is called Hantsemáta. This dance will be described later in connection with the Tsantsa-feast proper. The slayer himself takes

part in the dance with the trophy hanging on his back. It has to be continued during the whole night until dawn. That night no one in the house is allowed to sleep and especially not the slayer himself.

The aim of the feast Numbuimártinyu, as already mentioned, is to [306] purify the slayer from the blood which is attached to him after the killing of the enemy, and to protect him against the spirit of the latter, who is thirsting for revenge. The soul of the enemy is particularly supposed to be present in the blood. How this purification can be brought about with the two strokes of blood applied to the legs of the slayer, is something the Jibaros can not explain more closely. Nor can they explain why hen's blood must necessarily be used for this procedure, or why that blood must be kept in an old, broken clay pot. 'Our ancestors have since times immemorial proceeded in this way,' an old Jibaro, whom I asked about the custom, answered me, 'and we have to keep up and follow their customs'. That a magical power and supernaturally purifying effects are ascribed to the hen's blood is, however, clear. The same purifying effects, in a magical or religious sense of the word, are ascribed to the bath in the river and to the washing of the mouth with guayusa, the object of the latter ceremony especially being to favourably prepare the slayer for the breaking of the fast. Again, the painting with the genipa is a direct protection against the spirit of the enemy. Body-painting among the Indians nearly always serves magical ends, being regarded as a protection against disease and witchcraft, and this is especially the case with the black painting. According

to the ideas of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians there is a demon (wakáni, supai) in the black genipa paint, and when the Indian paints his body or face black this is usually a sign that he is either going to kill an enemy or has already killed one. As we shall see, painting with genipa also takes place at the feast Suamártinyu and at the final great victory feast.

In regard to the question why the hen's blood used at the purification ought to be kept in an old broken clay vessel (hakáchi), it may be mentioned that the Jibaros make use of broken clay pots at certain cathartic rites, when they try to get rid of something that is impure, horrible, and dangerous. Since the hen's blood which has purified the slayer is afterwards impure and harmful matter and accordingly is thrown away at once, it is consonant with ritualistic principles that it should be kept in a useless vessel, worthy of being thrown away, like the piece of a broken clay pot. It seems to be due to similar considerations that the Jibaros use a hakáchi for heating the sand with which the trophy is reduced at the preparation.

Again, if one asks what ideas underlie the choice of the slayer's food--palm top, beans, mashed manioc, etc. --the Indians only give the explanation that he ought to eat such light kinds of food that remain in [307] his stomach and which he does not run the risk of throwing up, which evidently would be regarded as dangerous for him. Their idea is, no doubt, that a very indigestible or irritating food could become a means through

which the invisible, supernatural enemy of the slayer-- the spirit of the killed enemy-- could get an opportunity to harm him, perhaps cause his death. That the guests mainly eat chicken at the feast is probably only due to the fact that Numbuimártinyu is an improvised feast, and that, therefore, such kinds of food is given them as is most easy to procure."

1: Karsten--309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"It may be observed that the practices and rites of the feast Numbuimártinyu and the rules observed afterwards may vary in certain details among different tribes. Thus among the Jibaros of the Pastaza and the Canelos Indians the diet of the slayer after the 'washing of the blood' consists mainly of the fruit and the leaves of the plant mandi (called sangu by the Jibaros). For a whole year the slayer has to abstain from cohabiting with his wife. The lance among these Indians is not washed at the ceremonial bath in the river, but the point of it is roasted in the fire so that the blood is dried or burned.

The lance or the rifle with which an enemy has been killed is always looked upon with superstitious fear by the Indians, and is never again used in hunting. If, for instance, a wild hog is killed with such a lance or rifle, the flesh of the animal is supposed to get the same taste as human flesh, and would not therefore be eaten by anybody. The Jibaro warrior is therefore anxious to exchange as soon as possible the lance with which he has killed an enemy. The rifle he generally keeps, but no longer uses it in hunting, only in wars.

Immediately after the feast Numbuimártinyu the slayer repairs to a natural waterfall in the forest (paccha or sasa), situated at a distance from his home, and takes some baths to further purify himself. He remains here alone for three days, fasting and taking tobacco water, sleeping at night in a small shelter and paying particular attention to his dreams. After the lapse of the three days he returns to his home, but

passes the first two nights not in his house but in a small shelter made on the bank of the river. Thereafter he can sleep in his house, not with his wife, however, but in the ante-room or men's department of the house."

1; Karsten--314-315 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 783 (1928-29)

"After the feast Suamártinyu the slayer undertakes a short journey, just as he did after he had 'washed off the blood'. Before he can make use of the greater liberty with regard to his mode of life which is conceded to him after the said feast, it is considered necessary that the black painting applied to his body at the feast shall have completely disappeared. The black dye prepared of the fruit of the Genipa americana, owing to its richness in tannin, is very astringent, and in spite of much washing remains for four or five days. The slayer as usual retires to the forest, staying in the neighbourhood of a sasa, where he bathes repeatedly and sleeps at night in a small shelter made close by. After the lapse of some days, when there are no traces left on his body of the painting, [315] he returns to his home, where he, in the main, resumes his former normal life, the only exception being the fasting which he is still bound to observe."

25: Vigna--41 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527, 783

In their fiestas, --they have solemn fiestas, periods of domestic events and of initiation - before the rites and dances begin, the chief, if he has some crime to expiate, must purify himself, taking infusions of tobacco and other herbs.